

MASS-MEDIA AND LANGUAGE PLANNING FOR MAORI IN NEW ZEALAND WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BROADCASTING

Mamoru Morizumi

INTRODUCTION

One of the major factors that differentiates the loss of languages in the 20th century from that in the previous periods is the mass-media. In the 19th century or before, school education and religious mission were the two main 'public' factors that quickened the loss of languages (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974; Das Gupta, 1971). In this century, especially since World War II, however, with a rapid progress of technology, the mass-media have played no less an influential role than the former two in destroying subdued languages. The mass-media have had a stronger influence of spreading dominant languages and the domain of their use. The question to be posed is: if the mass-media had, and still have, such a destructive influence of the subdued languages, why is not this far reaching and powerful influence used to reverse this trend? In the present paper this hypothesis will be evaluated in the light of broadcasting experiences in New Zealand with respect to the Maori language.

In general there is a belief that if nothing is done to stop the decline of the Maori language in New Zealand at the governmental or official level, the language is at a risk of not being used as a living language within this century except, perhaps, for some ceremonial occasions and academic interest (Benton, 1981:15-24). If so, Maori would share the common fate of Ainu in Japan, Hawaiian in Hawaii, most American Indian languages in the North and Middle America, and some Aboriginal languages in Australia.

In order for a language, like Maori, to survive, it should be used in, at least, the following three areas in a society:¹

1. Parliament, law courts and government offices
2. Schools of any levels
3. Major mass-media.

In this paper the discussion will be limited to influences of mass-media, especially broadcasting, on the Maori language.

My choice of the media of broadcasting is influenced by the criteria of ownership and control, and the presence of an organized long-term plan to tackle such a

problem. In addition, the Maori culture has always been an oral/aural culture, and therefore broadcasting is more suitable to retain these characteristics of the Maori language than newspapers and magazines.

The discussion will be organized as follows: first, the process and the present broadcasting situation is surveyed. Second, the Recommendations lodged with the Tribunal in 1984 are analysed for the likely statutory reforms. Then tentative Maori language radio stations and the National Maori Language Week are evaluated as the grass-roots activities for the improvement, which is followed by a comparison of activities with respect to the revival of Maori with similar bilingual situations in other countries and districts. Lastly one of the major stumbling blocks against the improvement of New Zealand's situation is analysed. The possible type of bilingual broadcasting in New Zealand is also discussed here. The conclusion to the paper brings together some salient points of the study.

MAORI ON RADIO AND TELEVISION — THE PROCESS AND THE PRESENT SITUATION

According to a survey made in 1974 the time allotted for regular Maori radio programmes for one week was 13.5 hours, while the total broadcast time on the stations of the 2YA non-commercial network was about 3,400 hours: the hours for Maori programmes was nothing but 0.4 percent (Metge, 1967:48). There were no Maori programmes on the commercial network. In 1986 the situation has not improved very much. The time for Maori news is less than ten minutes, which is the same as it was in 1974. The exact percentage of the Maori programmes in the whole programmes on Radio New Zealand has not yet been surveyed, but the ratio is almost the same as it was ten years ago or less than that, because some English-only medium stations have been established since then. There are no Maori programmes on the commercial network. The obvious question to be posed is what has prevented the broadcasters from increasing the Maori programmes. An appreciation of the current situation will be made in the light of the historical background.

It is said that it was 1927 when the first Maori programme of any significance including Maori music was planned by Otaki Maori College for an entire evening's entertainment programme from 2YA. This was succeeded by much more ambitious presentation on the Waitangi Day in the following year. In 1936 the first Maori announcer was employed by Radio New Zealand, 1ZB, in Auckland, and was subsequently adopted by other stations in the country although there were no regular programmes in Maori. In 1941, Paraire Paikea, an MP for Northern Maori, requested the Maori language news on radio, and in the following year,

1942, the Maori news went to air for five minutes every week day. According to Haare Williams, this news, read by Wirem Parker, was regarded as the 'gospel' among Maori people in those days.² During the 1950s more and more Maori announcers appeared and by the 1960s there was a strong demand for more time to be allotted for Maori programmes on the ground that it was far less than the Maori people wanted. This demand stressed from such groups as the New Zealand Maori Council, Te Reo Maori Society, Nga Tamatoa (Brave Young Men) and Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo (Maori Language Board) strongly insisted on an increase in the broadcast time for Maori people. One of the results of this movement was the introduction of regular programmes on radio such as Te Karere a Rongo (The Messenger of the News), Te Reo O Te Pīpiwharauroa (The Language of the Cockatoo) and He Rerenga Korero (The Source of the News), details of which will be mentioned a little later. In conjunction with this it should be noted that in the 1960s the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation began to require all the announcers to speak correct Maori pronunciation.³ Although this is a subject of controversy because there are a number of Maori dialects, the debate itself led to the opening of major news programmes in the 1970s by some Maori greetings such as 'Kia ora' ('Hello' or 'Thanks') and 'Aroha' ('Love' or 'Peace').

The following is a list of regular radio programmes in Maori broadcast through Radio New Zealand in 1985:

Mon.—Fri.	6.41 a.m.	Maori News (4 mins)
	5.05 p.m.	Maori News (5 mins)
Wed.	7.20 p.m.	Te Karere A Rongo (10 mins)
Sun.	5.30 p.m.	Maori News Round Up (12 mins).

There are also some regular programmes on Maori culture though English is used for explanation.

Sat.	10.30 a.m.	News of the Maori Events (5 mins)
	10.35 a.m.	Te Puna Wai Korero (20 mins).

The total broadcast time for the above programmes (both in Maori and in English) for one week occupies only 0.019 percent of the total broadcasting time for the same duration.⁴ The Maori population is about 300,000, almost 12 per cent of the whole population in New Zealand. The problem of the hours of the day the Maori programmes are on air is also controversial. As is shown in the above list, some programmes are not easy to be listened to by all the New Zealanders. Philip Walker, a producer of Radio New Zealand, calls these hours 'ghetto time' and insists that they get them into 'community time'. Nga Kaiwhakapumau says in a submission for the Waitangi Tribunal claim, 'We are not interested in a part-time use of air-time, as our language is not a part-

time language, and our needs are not part-time needs.'⁵

Although television was introduced in New Zealand around 1950, it was not until quite recently—1983—that television came to have a regular Maori news programme. One of the main criticisms of this attitude to the Maori language and culture is well illustrated by the Te Reo Maori Society in the following way:⁶

1. Television does not encourage the development and growth of the Maori language
2. Television does not reflect the multicultural nature of New Zealand society. ... it does not give any recognition to the value and aspirations of cultures other than the dominant Anglo-American culture.

Richard A. Benton, who has long been advocating that television is a key to the Maori language's survival, also says that 'television, an all-English medium, has brought English into many Maori homes more forcefully than any other mass media' (Benton, 1981:17). Comparing the Maori language to the suffering mussels in the pollutant of English, he even says that 'after that the pollutant became a poison, and the television set had the same effect as a pickaxe wielded to finish the last surviving mussels off'.⁷

In 1977 Te Reo Maori Society, regarding television as having the potential to be a major force for the revival of the Maori language, gave a submission for the proposals for multicultural television broadcasting. The claims consisted of the following two points:⁸

1. That a Maori Production Unit be established at Television One with special responsibilities for producing programmes in the Maori language
2. That a five-minute 'News in Maori' be produced by the Maori Production Unit seven nights a week.

But the claims were not accepted at that time, and it was not until 1983 that the Maori news called Te Karere began to be seen on television. The programme has been on air for ten minutes from 5.50 to 6.00 p.m. from Monday to Friday. There has been no other regular television programme in Maori yet.

In order to have the Maori features including its language on television channels there are two possible ways. One is to have more Maori programmes, regularly or irregularly, on the existing two channels. The other is to establish a new channel, the third channel, for Maori features. In the latter the great majority of the programmes are carried out in Maori: Maori is a major language and English and other Polynesian languages are minor languages. Consider some advantages and disadvantages of the two. If we take the former one, the possible effect is too large for many of the European New Zealanders, or even

for the South Pacific Islanders in the country. A newly established channel can avoid this problem. It is all up to people which channel they should choose. But this advantage is outweighed by the fact that the European New Zealanders will not be forced to know something Maori through television. At the moment, the reverse is true for Maori people. Maori people cannot avoid hearing English through radio and television while the Europeans can avoid hearing Maori.

MOVEMENT FOR FUNDAMENTAL REFORM OF THE BROADCASTING ACT—RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE TRIBUNAL

Since the 1960s various kinds of petitions, recommendations and claims have been submitted or lodged for the sake of the Maori language to the respective tribunals, government departments, institutions and organizations in charge. Among them, the one lodged by Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1984 contained the most exhaustive and comprehensive claims. We should note that in the present Broadcasting Act there are no provisions concerning the Maori language. Nga Kaiwhakapumau requests the amendment of the Act for the constitutional status of the Maori language. The claims, written in about 2,500 words, consist of four main sections under the following titles:

1. Official Recognition of the Maori Language
2. Broadcasting
3. Education
4. Health.

Apparently these claims demand the right for the Maori Language to be used in (1) Parliament, courts and government offices; (2) broadcasting stations or channels; (3) all kinds of schools; and (4) hospitals and health service organizations. They also ask that Maori be used as well as English in signalization in all public places including Air New Zealand and New Zealand Railways.

In the section for broadcasting, firstly 11 recommendations are submitted to the Minister of Broadcasting. The outline of each item is as follows:⁹

1. To provide equality of Maori and English in the operations of public broadcasting.
2. To delineate responsibility of the broadcasters to protect, promote, use and foster Maori as a living language.
3. To secure 50% of Maori membership in the Broadcasting Corporation Board.
4. To secure 50% of Maori membership in the Broadcasting Tribunal.
5. To establish Te Runanga Reo Irirangi (The Assembly of Maori Language on Radio) with the equal status of Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand (BCNZ).
6. To establish Maori radio stations in all tribal districts and metropolitan areas.
7. To establish a television channel broadcasting in Maori as a senior language.

8. To increase Maori news services on existing local radio stations of Radio New Zealand (RNZ) and channels of Television New Zealand (TVNZ).
9. To employ Maori musicians and performing artists in the same capacity as the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra.
10. To issue a weekly Maori and English language magazine on matters related to broadcasting and general matters.
11. To make the Board of the BCNZ report annually to the Minister on what they have done to promote Maori as a living language.

Further, for the following items they insist that the same treatment be adopted:

12. To establish a fund for Maori language broadcasting within the BCNZ.
13. To employ Maori native speakers in both RNZ and TVNZ.
14. To have children's programming and continuing education programming in respect of the Maori language and material on both radio and television.
15. To develop a wide range of Maori programming on both radio and television.
16. To appoint Maori personnel to senior management positions within BCNZ, TVNZ and RNZ.
17. To train the staff to pronounce Maori correctly.
18. To establish an ombudsman for Maori broadcasting.
19. To introduce a quota of appearance times for Maori people in television commercials and a quota of 10% of Maori music on all networks.
20. To recruit and train Maori-speaking broadcasting personnel in preparation for the Maori radio and television services.
21. To require personal report forms within broadcasting to contain a section relating to knowledge of Maori language and culture.
22. To ensure the Maori positions within the BCNZ, TVNZ and RNZ are filled with 15% of Maori people.

It seems that some of the claims are stretched too far. For example, television commercials mentioned in Item 19 are usually private matters; most of the sponsors are private enterprises and it is quite difficult to force them to make their commercial films in favour of Maori people by employing Maori models or by using the Maori language. It is their business. Item 16 requires that Maori people be appointed to senior management positions, but this may be a matter of individual capacity, not of racial identity. There may be some redundancy in Items 16 and 20. Thus, there are some items which are debatable. Nevertheless the list itself tells us how disadvantaged the Maori minority has been, even if we take up the problem of language and limit it to the field of broadcasting. They have almost the same or more serious disadvantage in other institution such as schools, courts, government offices. All these put together can to some extent justify the above-mentioned exaggerated demand.

The 22 items are divided into the following four categories:

1. Those items which mention the principal idea toward the Maori language in broadcasting. Items 1 and 2 belong to this group. The equality of Maori and English in public broadcasting is claimed in Item 1. This implies that

Maori should be treated as one of the two official languages in New Zealand, and this item plays a role as the major premise for all the items following it. In Item 2 the responsibility of the broadcasters to protect and foster Maori as a living language is mentioned. This, as well as Item 1, functions as the major premise for the rest of the items.

2. Those items which are concerned with the concrete aims or purposes: the ultimate aims or purposes of amending the present Broadcasting Act are to establish Maori language stations or channels on radio and/or television, or to have more programmes on Maori language and culture on existing radio and television stations. These claims are provided in Items 6, 7, 8, 14, 15 and 19.
3. Those items which concern the ways or means of obtaining the goals and aims described in the above two categories. This character is well expressed in the items which refer to the personnel and financial problems of the broadcasting system. In order to attain the goals and aims we need enough financial support and qualified Maori personnel and well planned positioning of them.
4. The last group consists of those items which inspect and supervise the plans and schemes of the above-mentioned items. Items 11 and 18 belong to this category. The organizations mentioned in these items will ensure that everything is going well in favour of Maori.

This division into four factors—goals, aims, means of attaining the aims and checking organizations—is applied to the other sections of the Recommendations. For example, the first item of the other three sections mentions something of ‘official status of Maori’ as the goal of recommendations and the content is quite similar to that of Broadcasting as seen in the following:

That statutory recognition of the Maori language be enacted, in order that Maori be one of the two official languages of Aotearoa... (Official Recognition of the Maori Language)

...so that all people have the right to have their children educated in the official language of their choice in recognition of responsibilities of the New Zealand Government ... (Education)

...that the Maori and English languages must be accorded an equal place... (Health).

The similarity can be also found in the other factors of the three different sections of the Recommendations.

None of the Recommendations has yet realized. A very few, for example, Items 13 and 18, have been partially carried out. Maybe these claims will have to be repeated many times for many years. We cannot expect to have drastic

reform in the case of language planning which has always much to do with socio-economic phases of the life of the people concerned.

TWO ATTEMPTS FOR THE GOAL—TENTATIVE PRIVATE RADIO STATIONS AND THE MAORI LANGUAGE WEEK

In addition to the movement claiming amendment of laws and ordinances concerning the Maori language, there are some other grass-roots movements which are trying to improve the present situation. These activities can prove that protecting and fostering Maori is really necessary for many Maoris, and can constitute strong reasons for the statutory amendment. The 'Kohanga Reo' movement is one of the best examples. Although the number of children attending the language nurseries is still small, it is also true that the movement has gradually and steadily had an effect on primary school education.¹⁰ As for broadcasting there are two movements to be reported. They are tentative private Maori radio stations and the National Maori Language Week.

Tentative Private Maori Radio Stations

In New Zealand a private radio station can be established if the application is accepted by the Broadcasting Tribunal. In order to present the Maori language and culture on air, the experimental use of a private radio station began to be examined and planned around 1980. It was felt that the success of the private Maori language broadcasting stations would prove the necessity of the public Maori language stations. Clearly a full-term private station is highly desirable, but the Tribunal requires that any applicant should possess at least \$NZ380,000 in assets and capital to establish a long-term private station, and those who advocate this movement cannot afford that.¹¹

In July 1983 Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo was granted a short-term FM licence by the Broadcasting Tribunal and in August they started a private Maori radio station around Wellington for the first time in New Zealand. It was one of the highlights of the National Maori Language Week for that year. The name of the station was FM91, Te Reo Poneke (The Voice of Wellington), and the broadcasting lasted for five days. The programmes consisted of a lively mix of music of Polynesian and reggae, talk show, news, weather and traffic reports and other items of interest to the Maori community.

This first private Maori radio station has been followed by some similar experimental broadcasting for other districts even during the periods outside the Maori Language Week. The following are some of those stations:

Te Reo o Kahungunu, Hastings

Te Reo o Tauranga, Tauranga
Te Reo o Te Arawa, Rotorua
Te Reo o Raukawa, Otaki

Usually these private stations apply for a short-term broadcasting authorization to the Broadcasting Tribunal. Many of them have to ask for donations and the co-operation of volunteers to run the station. For example, Te Reo o Raukawa, the first private Maori station outside the Maori Language Week, run by the Wananga o Raukawa (The House of Learning in Raukawa), operated for ten days in May and October respectively in 1985, and among the total income of \$NZ4700, \$NZ2000 was the donation.

As for the response to these private Maori radio stations, a thorough survey has not yet been carried out. But, according to 'A Report on Te Reo o Poneke', the station received many calls and letters in favour of the broadcasting during or after the period. Some of the comments are the following:¹²

It's the best station in town, should have it on all the time.

I've used up all my tapes recording it.

I couldn't do any housework.

Honest, all the Maori people are listening.

It is also said 'the response to FM91 has made it clear that people in Otaki wanted to learn about Maori language. A huge amount of interest has come from the non-Maori sector'.¹³

The National Maori Language Week

As is seen in the fact that the first private Maori radio broadcasting commenced during the National Maori Language Week in 1983, broadcasting has played an important role among various activities and events held in the Maori Language Week.

The origin of the National Maori Language Week was the National Maori Language Day which started in 1972. In the 1960s there arose a movement which called for the revival or survival of the Maori language. In 1970 Te Reo Maori Society was formed in Wellington and commenced various activities for the sake of the Maori language. In 1972, Nga Tamatoa, an Auckland based national organization for young people who had fought for Maori rights including language, started a national petition calling for Maori language and culture to be taught in ALL schools.¹⁴ They gathered about 33,000 signatures on the petition, and on the 14th of September, the petition, supported by Te Reo Maori Society, was presented to the Parliament, and the day was designated as the first National Maori Language Day. Then, in 1974 the Day was promoted to the Week and in 1978 the date was moved from September to August or July. It was

officially recognized by the Department of Education in 1974.

The following are some of the main activities or events which have been given so far to commemorate the Maori Language Week:

1. Petitions to Parliament.
2. Submissions to Government and heads of broadcasting.
3. Special programmes in schools.
4. Performances of plays and cultural items.
5. Meetings and seminars.
6. Special programmes on radio and television.

Submissions concerning broadcasting have been presented to the Minister of Broadcasting, the Broadcasting Tribunal, the Broadcasting Corporation and so forth. For example, the 1975 submissions were lodged with the Minister of Broadcasting to press for a Maori language station, and for 10 percent of radio and television programmes to be broadcast in Maori.

There have been a lot of back-up activities for the use of the Maori language during the week. In 1985 the Broadcasting Corporation asked its staff to consider using some Maori phrases and expressions on the telephone and in letters during the Maori Language Week. That was the first time television and state radio staff were asked to use the Maori language when dealing with the public. Some of the phrases and expressions suggested for use are:¹⁵

Me nga mihi aroha.

(With affectionate regards.)

Ma te Atua koe e manaaki.

(May God bless you.)

Arohanui.

(With much love.)

Kati tena.

(That's enough.)

Recommendation for the use of Maori was not limited to broadcasting. For example, Wellington City Council directed that all its officers should greet in Maori during the week. There was a special big exhibition on Maori culture in the Public Library, and there were Maori language announcements at the airport.¹⁶

BROADCASTING TYPES IN BILINGUAL OR MULTILINGUAL SOCIETIES

There are three possible ways in which we can increase the number of Maori programmes on air on either radio or television: the first is to increase the

Maori programmes in the existing stations (or channels), the second is to establish a new station whose language or whose senior language, is Maori, while the third is a method of combining the first two. Before we discuss the possibility of these three, however, let us see what kind of varieties of broadcasting types there are in bilingual or multilingual countries or districts. The varieties depend upon the number of languages and that of broadcasting stations. Needless to say, the more languages and stations there are, the more varieties of broadcasting types we have. If we do not distinguish between or specify the languages, some examples of the possible combination of the languages and the station(s) are as follows:

I. Two languages (A, B), one station (X)

Station	Type	1	2
X		A	AB

II. Two languages (A, B), two stations (X, Y)

Station	Type	1	2	3	4
X		A	A	A	AB
Y		A	B	AB	AB

III. Two languages (A, B), three stations (X, Y, Z)

Station	Type	1	2	3	4	5	6
X		A	A	A	A	A	AB
Y		A	A	A	AB	B	AB
Z		A	B	AB	AB	AB	AB

IV. Three languages (A, B, C), two stations (X, Y)

Station	Type	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
X		A	A	A	A	A	AB	AB	AB	ABC
Y		A	A	AB	BC	ABC	AB	BC	ABC	ABC

V. Three languages (A, B, C), three stations (X, Y, Z)

Station	Type	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
X		A	A	A	AB	AB	AB	AB	AB	AB
Y		A	A	B	A	A	A	C	AB	AB
Z		A	B	C	A	B	C	C	A	C

Station	Type	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
X		AB	AB	AB	AB	AB	ABA	ABC	ABC
Y		BC	BC	AB	AB	BC	A	A	AB
Z		A	B	AB	BC	AC	A	B	A

Station	Type	18	19	20	21	22	23
X		ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC
Y		AB	AB	AB	ABC	ABC	ABC
Z		C	AB	BC	A	AB	ABC

The languages of A and B, or A, B and C are transferable in each table, because we do not specify them. For example, Types I—1 and 2 mean there are two possibilities in the combination of two languages and one station, i.e. one of the two languages—either A or B—monopolizes the station (Type I—1), and both languages share the station (Type I—2). Likewise, Type II—1 implies one of the two languages—either A or B—monopolizes the two stations while Type II—2 shows that one of the languages is used in one of the stations and the other language in the other station.

The reason why we do not specify the languages is that we want to avoid the description of the complexity and the tremendous number of varieties. These two are not necessarily important to know the range of the possibilities of combinations. But we should not forget that in a real situation it is very important to distinguish between the languages from the points whether a certain language is dominant or not, whether it is major or not, and whether it is 'indigenous' or not. For instance, in the explanation of Type I—1, it is mentioned that it does not matter whether one of the languages is A or B, but it really matters a lot for a certain group of people whether it is A or B.

We have two other considerations of significance. First, the variety of the types depends on areas in each country. Broadcasting stations, especially radio stations, are very often run district by district according to the needs of the people who live there. So when we say 'stations' in the above tables they include local stations. Usually one or two stations are nationwide and the remainder are all local. Second, when two or three languages are used in one station, the proportion of time allotted to each language should be of great concern. There is a large difference between the case where two languages share the time of broadcasting equally and the case where one dominant language occupies most of the time and the other language has a very small portion of the time. In addition to this, the time of the day allotted is also an important factor when we discuss bilingualism or multilingualism, but nothing of these factors is indicated in the above table.

Now let us consider some empirical cases for the types of broadcasting in bilingual or multilingual countries. In Tarawa, one of the islands of Kiribati, two languages are spoken: Kiribatese and English. They have one radio station and both languages are on air. The type is I—2. As for the Types II, Western Samoa is a good example. In Apia district, they have two radio channels: Channel One is for Samoan and English while Channel Two is for English. So this is the type of II—3. The common languages used around Port Moresby in Papua New Guinea are Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu and English, and two radio stations are operating there. Their type of broadcasting is IV—5: English is used as the medium in a station called Kalang while English, Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu are used in another station called Karai, although the proportion of Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu is extremely small. In the capital of Fiji, where three languages are used, they have three radio stations: Radio Fiji One adopts Fijian and English, Radio Fiji Two Hindustani and English and the station called 1089 (Ten Eighty-nine) uses three languages, English, Fijian and Hindustani. This is the type V—20.

What types can we think of for the Maori language in New Zealand? Let us take up the possibilities in the Wellington area for example. In the case of radio stations, as is told on p.11, there are some regular Maori programmes in Radio New Zealand, which is called 2YA in the Wellington district. There are two more non-commercial stations called 2YB and 2YC. They have also some local stations—2ZB, Rhema and Windy, and two FM stations, Radio Active and 2ZM. Thus the total number of the stations operating around Wellington is eight. So, according to the classification of the above table, we have two languages¹⁷ and eight stations, and the variety of the combinations is tremendous. The following are some examples of the combinations:

Type Station	1	2	3	4
2YA	EM	EM	EM	EM
2YB	E	E	EM	EM
2YC	E	E	EM	EM
2ZB	E	E	E	EM
2ZM	E	E	E	EM
Rhema	E	E	E	EM
Windy	E	E	E	EM
Radio Active	E	E	E	EM
(X)		M	M	EM

E=English, M=Maori
(X) = a new Maori station to be

Type 1 is the present combination. Only one station has regular Maori programmes, the proportion of which is extremely small. As is stated before

(p.11), the total time for Maori programmes on radio in New Zealand is 0.019%. If you see the number of the stations, and the amount of time allotted for Maori in only one station, you will understand this small percentage. Type 2 is the case where a new Maori station is added to the present situation. The new station will be one of the local stations of Radio New Zealand. Type 3 is the combination which Nga Kaiwhakapumau calls for in the Recommendation—one Maori station and some national stations to share with English. Type 4 is the case where bilingualism is ideally operated. This may be next to impossible to expect in New Zealand, and as far as I know there is no combination like this anywhere in the world.

The obvious inference is, in Wellington district, to have more Maori programmes in 2YA, which is a national radio station and the most influential of all, and to establish a new Maori station in which Maori is used as the senior language. This means to promote the present situation to the Type 2 situation. If the proportion of the Maori programmes is around 12 percent of all the programmes in 2YA, and if the newly established Maori station secures the same broadcasting time as 2YA and others have and the seniority of the use of the Maori language, it can be said that the bilingualism of Maori and English in radio broadcasting in Wellington district has reached a satisfactory stage. For the further development in favour of Maori the real and natural situation will decide: we cannot or should not *plan* the language use further than that.

Almost the same argument will hold true with television. Now in New Zealand there are two governmental stations operated on commercial base, and one of them (TV—Two) has the regular Maori programme, the ten minute news programme, on week days. It is necessary for them to have a Maori station and to increase the Maori programmes in the existing broadcasting as in the case of radio broadcasting; the present II—3 type should be promoted into the III—5 type. Now there is a possibility for Aotearoa Broadcasting System (ABS), a private company established under the New Zealand Maori Council, to be a third, and Maori language, television station in New Zealand, but when established, it should be promoted to the state of the existing two stations, that is to say, the state of the governmental station operated on commercial base. Anyway, taking it into consideration that television has a strong influence in the present day society, the need of having a Maori station is no less urgent than that of a radio station.

Next, let us consider briefly the contents of the Maori programmes. Any programmes which are on air in the existing stations can be put in the Maori station, but more Maori features and programmes concerning the language should be on air compared with other stations. The following is the list of contents which Te Wanaga o Raukawa planned when it applied to the Tribunal for a series of short-term radio broadcasting authorization in 1985. This is a good example which

shows what the Maori programmes should be like.¹⁸

The Contents of the Programmes and the Allotted Time for
Tentative 10 Days Broadcasting at Raukawa

<i>Contents</i>	<i>Length Daily (min.)</i>
News bulletins and weather	60
Karakia (prayer-chant) mornings and evenings	10
Sports briefs	20
Marae (traditional meeting place) magazine	20
Kuia/Kaumatua (old men/women) spot	30
Rangatahi (modern youth) show	60
Weekender evening show	120 (weekend only)
Maori language lessons	10
Rastafarian news and music drive show	30
Children's programme for Kohanga Reo (language nests)	30
Housing discussion	30
Employment discussion	30
Book reviews	10
This week in politics	30
Cash call and quiz	20
Games and competitions	30
Racing information	20
Tribal activities bulletin	20
Historical highlights	30
Action song time	20
Fishing tides and seafood bulletin	10
Oral literature	60
Manuhiri (visitors)	10
Current affairs interview	10
Panui (noticeboard)	10
Older children's rock request and breakdance	30
Car swap and valuation	10
Consumer discussion	60
Understanding Pakeha	15
Music easy listening	115
	<hr/> 960 [16 hours]

Programmes such as 'Maori language lesson', 'Children's programme for Kohanga Reo', 'Marae magazine', 'Tribal activities bulletin', 'Action song time', 'Oral literature', 'Understanding Pakeha' and so on show the characteristics of the station.

SOME EXAMPLES OF OTHER COUNTRIES AND THE POSSIBLE STUMBLING BLOCKS IN NEW ZEALAND

What are the stumbling blocks against the realization of a Maori broadcasting station? What makes the authorities reluctant to increase the Maori programmes? Some of the situations for the minority people in other countries and districts should throw some light on the comparative position of Maoris in New Zealand.

Switzerland is often referred to as one of the ideal standards of linguistic pluralism—‘a country where no one is trying to force their language or culture upon anyone else’ (Haugen, 1985:15). As we all know, in that country there are a minority people who speak Romansch. They are about 1 percent of the whole population, but the language is recognized as the fourth national language and is heard on radio regularly in the district where the minority live.

In Wales, since the enactment of the Welsh Language Act in 1976, the Welsh people have had the right to speak and hear in any court or legal proceedings. They have both all-Welsh radio and television stations ‘although not as much as some would like’ (Trudgill, 1974:147).

In Ireland they have been successful in making the Irish language alive again since the whole education system was transformed into a bilingual one in the 1930s and 1940s. The Irish Language Board Act (Bord Na Gaeilge Act) was enacted in 1978 to promote the Irish language and its use as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication. Now it is said one-quarter of the population speaks Irish.

Canada also gives us a successful example of bilingualism. They established the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963, and through the two Reports (in 1965 and 1967), French, the minority language, has attained the almost equal status as English. In this country a figure of 5,000 people is regarded as a starting point for the provision of local language radio service. The Canadian Office of the Commissioner for Official Languages is also very effective.

In the southern part of Finland, there are some people (about 7 percent of the whole population) who speak Swedish. In this sense the country is partly bilingual, and it is interesting that if there is 10 percent of the minority in any district, the language is recognized as an official language of that district.

Further, we have the cases of Belgium, Norway, Rumania, Soviet Russia and so forth, where bilingual or multicultural situation is comparatively well maintained.

One of the common features of these countries and districts is that there is no *distinct* racial difference between those concerned. The divisions are based on language and background other than race and colour.

There are cases where there is ethnic difference as well, which is the case of New Zealand. So are the cases of Aboriginal languages in Australia, Hawaiian

in Hawaii, American Indian languages in the United States and so forth. And if we limit the situation to the pattern of the native people vs European people who immigrated and now have come to the majority member of the community, the cases of Aboriginal languages in Australia and the American Indian languages in the USA are very similar to that of Maori in New Zealand. In these three cases, generally speaking, 'with political and economic power firmly in the hands of the white, the non-white suffer an acute sense of denial and alienation' (Levine and Vasil, 1985:13).

As far as broadcasting is concerned, the Australian Aboriginal situation is better than the Maori's. Although the language media are not always Aboriginal languages, the Aboriginal have some radio stations of their own: CAAMA—Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association—in the south of the Northern Territory and TAMA—Townsville Aboriginal Media Association—in northern Queensland. The stations are almost 100 percent government or state aided. In Sydney and Brisbane areas, Radio Redfern and 4ZZZ are operating respectively and giving Aboriginal features on air regularly, though not full-time, and the amount of time allotted is much more than that for the Maori programmes.

The Aboriginal people comprise only 2 percent of the whole Australian population, and it is said there are more than 200 languages (not dialects)—some are already extinct—spoken among them. These factors seem to make the situation more difficult to have their own broadcasting services. In New Zealand the Maori is almost 12 percent of all the population and although there are some tribal varieties in the language, the difference is not as big as those of the Aborigines. So, generally speaking, it is the New Zealand situation rather than the Australian situation that allows for the minority people to have their own broadcasting station, but the reality is the reverse.

As far as the New Zealand Government policy is concerned, there seems to be nothing inconvenient or disappointing about the Maori programmes. For example, the 1984 Labour Government broadcasting policy states under the title of 'Maori and Pacific Island programmes':

Labour believes that the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand must fulfil its obligation to 'reflect and develop New Zealand's identity and culture' and accepts that this will not be possible without greater attention to the use of the Maori language.

Labour will encourage the Broadcasting Corporation to provide appropriate facilities and to recruit and train sufficient staff already fluent in the use of Maori and Pacific Island languages.

Labour will require the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand to make provision for a wider range of television programmes in the Maori language, to be broadcast on one or other of the main channels, and at times convenient to family groups.

The Government will establish a Maori and Pacific Island commercial radio station with

programmes available for distribution through other stations.

Despite this much affirmative policy in favour of Maori, the situation has not turned out to be so satisfactory. The only reason we can think of would be the difference in attitude toward the Pacific Islanders between the Government and Maoris. As is stated in the last item above, the Government has promised to set up a multicultural station in South Auckland, but Nga Kaiwhakapumau and other groups are against it. They want a station to cater only for Maori listeners, and do not want to share it with other minority groups. The chairman of the Wellington Maori Language Board says: 'Our concern is that there should be a full time radio station where Maori language can be heard at any time of the day. We don't want to be slotted into a station programme.'¹⁹ Now a lot of immigrants from the Pacific have come to settle in New Zealand: the number amounts to about 90,000 which is 2.9 percent of the total New Zealand population. It is quite natural for the Government to look after these Islanders. But the insistence on the Maori side is more understandable. They think the Maoris are different from other Pacific Islanders: the Maoris came to Aotearoa (New Zealand) much earlier than the Islanders and they are the indigenous people of the country. In other words the other Pacific Islanders came to New Zealand of their own accord after the 'Maori-Pakeha' problems arose. Moreover, no one cannot deny that the Treaty of Waitangi guarantees the Maoris the protection and maintenance of the Maori language as 'taonga' (property, anything highly prized) of the people (Benton, 1983). The Maoris naturally should have priority.

CONCLUSION

From our discussion we have a number of possible solutions to the revival of the Maori language in terms of broadcasting. Some of them will be summarised here.

First, the amendment of the present Broadcasting Act should consist of the four categories: principles of major premises, direct aims or targets, means of attaining aims or targets and checking organization.

Some grass-roots activities such as tentative private Maori radio stations and the National Maori Language Week are also indispensable to the improvement.

These two points—statutory amendment and some grass-roots activities—are universal for language planning: they are adaptable in any other field of language planning such as schools and governmental offices, and in any other countries or societies that have the similar problems as the Maori language has.

The suggested type of bilingual radio broadcasting in New Zealand should be Type 2 (mentioned on p.21) which consists of one Maori medium station, one

shared by Maori and English, and several English medium stations. For television, Type III—5 (mentioned on p.19) would be the most suitable type for the present New Zealand situation. Establishing a new station or channel of the Maori language and features is urgent for both radio and television.

Unfortunately there are some stumbling blocks against the improvement. One of them is a conflict in attitudes between the government and the Maori group toward the Pacific Islanders in New Zealand. The government insists that a newly established station should be for both the Maoris and the Pacific Islanders, while the Maoris want a station of their own. Taking into consideration everything including the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Maoris definitely have a right to get their own station on both radio and television.

There have been almost no societies where the minority people have been able to raise themselves by 'self-help' alone against the wishes of the majority group who hold political and economic powers (Kelly, 1962:23). If the situation is limited to the case where the minority is the indigenous 'coloured', and the majority is white European, which is the case with the New Zealand situation, there have definitely been no successful cases of the proper bilingualism or biculturalism.

This is mainly because, in addition to the distinct difference in possession of 'civilized' materialistic powers between the two, there is a big difference in the fundamental way of thinking toward life including moral code. For instance, most of the Maori people do not agree with the 'Western' democracy, individualism, competitionism and value of industry. In this sense, if the New Zealanders, including Maoris and Europeans, overcome these seem-to-be- 'fatal' difficulties and attain the bilingual and bicultural society, it would be an epoch-making event in the world history. New Zealand is one of the rarest countries which still has the possibility of realising this dream.

NOTES

1. Some other areas conceivably are churches, hospitals and homes. These are, however, not mentioned here, because churches are less public nowadays, hospitals are too sentimental and homes cannot be regarded as a starting factor for the revival of a language in the situation where the language has almost ceased to be used here.
2. Williams, H., 'Radio Aotearoa' (Typescript, 1985).
3. Maori, like other indigenous languages in the South Pacific, is a syllable-timed language which has a CVCV structure. So the main stumbling block for European New Zealanders is the pronunciation of the vowel sounds. Some consonants such as /r/, /p/ and /wh/ are also difficult for them to pronounce. In addition to the mispronunciation of these sounds, European New Zealanders are likely to adopt 'colloquial' pronunciation such as 'Parapam' for 'Paraparaum', 'Waipuk' for 'Waipukurau' and 'Otawho' for 'Otahuhu'.
4. Williams, H., *op.cit.*, p.8.
5. Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo, 'Our Right to Maori Radio Stations' (Typescript, 1985).
6. Te Reo Maori Society, 'The Contribution of Maori Language to New Zealand's Multi-Cultural

- Television System' in *Multi-Cultural School*, No.9, p.23.
7. Benton, Richard A., 'A chance to save language' in *Dominion*, 19 July 1985. See, also, Solensen, K., 'TV, Pakeha institutes killing Maori, language research claims' in *Te Reo Maori*, Vol. 5, No.6, p.13.
 8. For details, see Te Reo Maori Society, 'Maori Programmes on Television: Submissions to the Chairman and the Members of the Board of Broadcasting Council of New Zealand' (Typescript, 1977).
 9. The original paper does not have the numbering 1 through 22: it is divided into two parts, each part has numbering a to k. My numbering is just for the sake of reference.
 10. The Education Board has begun to send [some itinerant teachers of Maori to primary schools to meet the needs of the Kohanga Reo graduates. When I visited some primary schools in Wellington in 1985 I found the teachers learning basic Maori making use of their break time. These phenomena are quite different from those of old days when children were punished for speaking Maori in school.
 11. Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo, 'Why We Cannot Afford to Establish Te Reo Ponake as a Private Radio Station in Wellington' (Typescript, 1981).
 12. Walker, P. 'Report on Te Reo o Ponake 89 FM' (Typescript, 1983).
 13. 'Otaki Maori radio station popular' in *Levin Weekly News*, 27 May 1985.
 14. According to the original form of the petition, it seeks 'that courses in Maori language and aspects of Maori culture be offered in ALL those schools with large Maori rolls and that these same courses be offered as a gift to the Pakeha from the Maori, in ALL other New Zealand schools a positive effort to promote a more meaningful concept of Integration.'
 15. 'Staff's Maori use urged' in *Dominion*, 20 July 1985.
 16. 'Council's Maori Week effort' in *Evening Post*, 15 July 1985.
 17. The two languages do not include any languages of the South Pacific Islanders and those of other immigrants.
 18. Te Reo Raukawa, 'Application for a Series of Short Term Broadcasting Authorizations on Behalf of Te Wananga O Raukawa' (Typescript, 1985).
 19. 'Maori radio station discussed' in *Evening Post*, 12 September 1984.

REFERENCES

(Typescripts, newspapers, acts and parts of periodicals are omitted. They are cited in the text or the notes.)

- Barrington, J.M. and Beaglehole, T.M., 1974. *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Bell, J. (ed.), 1981. *Language Planning for Australian Aboriginal Languages*. Alice Springs: Institute for Aboriginal Development.
- Bender, B.W., 1971. *Linguistic Factors in Maori Education*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Benton, R. A., 1979d. *The Legal Status of the Maori Language: Current Reality and Future Prospects*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- 1981. *The Flight of the Amokura—Oceanic Languages and Formal Education in the South Pacific*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- 1983. *The Maori Language, the Treaty of Waitangi and Race Relations in New Zealand*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- 1984. *Te Rito O Te Korari: Maori Language and New Zealand's National Identity*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- 1985. *Administrative and Organizational Implications of Maori-English Bilingual Education for the New Zealand School System*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Das Gupta, J., 1971. 'Religion, Language and Political Mobilization', in Rubin and Jernudd

- (eds.) 1971.
- Day, R.R., 1985. 'The Ultimate Inequality: Linguistic Genocide' in Wolfson and Manes (eds.), 1985.
- Gaselberg, J. (ed.), 1975. *Maori Is My Name*. Dunedin: John McIndoe.
- Geddes, W.R., 1961. 'Maori and Aborigine: a Comparison of Attitudes and Policies', in *Australian Journal of Science*. Vol. 24, p.218.
- Haugen, E., 1985. 'The Language of Imperialism: Unity or Pluralism ?' in Wolfson and Manes (eds.), 1985.
- Hunn, J.K., 1960. *Report on Department of Maori Affairs*. Wellington: Government Printer.
- Kelly, R.A., 1962. 'The Politics of Racial Equality', in *New Zealand Journal of Public Administration*., Vol. 24, No.2, pp.23—36.
- Liebenson, S., 1981. *Language Diversity and Language Contact*. Stanford University Press.
- Levine, S. and Vasil, R., 1985. *Maori Political Perspectives*. Auckland: Hutchinson of New Zealand.
- Metge, J., 1967. *The Maoris of New Zealand*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Pocock, J.G.A. (ed.), 1965. *The Maori and New Zealand Politics*. Auckland: Blackwood and Janet Paul.
- Rubin, J. and Jernudd, B.H. (eds.), 1971. *Can Language Be Planned?* University Press of Hawaii.
- Schwimmer, E. (ed.), 1968. *The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties*. Auckland: Blackwood and Janet Paul.
- 1974. *The World of Maori*. Auckland: A.H. and A.W. Reed.
- Trudgill, P., 1974. *Sociolinguistics* Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Watson, J., 1967. *Horizons of Unknown Power*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Wolfson, N. and Manes, J. (eds.), 1985. *Language of Inequality*. Berlin: Mouton.